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# Educated Elites in Pre-Socialist Hungary – 1867-1948. Issues, Approaches, Sources and Some Preliminary Results of an Overall Survey

*Victor Karady* \*

**Abstract:** The main target of this paper is to report on the process of the formation of educated elites in Hungary since the end of feudalism and the birth of the nation state following the 1848 Revolution and the 1867 Compromise with Austria. The paper describes our long term study of elites during the political, administrative, economic and cultural modernization of Hungarian society within its historically given territories (outside Croatia). The survey is broken down into three long periods and structural parts: (1867-1918): liberal nation-building in the historic kingdom comprising the whole Carpathian Basin (multi-ethnic Magyar Empire) (→ survey of both the graduates of higher (post-secondary) education and of ‘reputational elites’ independently from their educational credentials).– (1919-1948): authoritarian anti-Liberal regime (involvement in World War 2 and the Nazi adventure followed by Liberation via the Red Army) (→ survey of both graduates and ‘reputational elites’).– Communism and post-Communism (Stalinist and post-Stalinist Communist regime after 1956, post-Communism since 1989) (→ survey of members of ‘reputational elites’ only).

Two parallel overall empirical studies of elite groups have been recently accomplished in Hungary (2004-2007) by a research team under my responsibility, codirected by Peter Tibor Nagy<sup>1</sup>. Our research has received the generous support of several Hungarian and foreign public and private agencies, with the aim to produce a large set of electronic data banks based on individual propopographical information of those included in the study, covering the process of elite formation during the long period starting with the end of feudalism and the birth of the nation state (marked by the 1848 Revolution and – as a practical benchmark – the 1867 Compromise with Austria) up till the socialist era and, in some respects, till today.

The first part of the survey concerned ‘reputational elites’ in the country, within the given frontiers of historic Hungary, since late feudal times (starting

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with those born after 1750) till the present. The target population – amounting to 25 000 individuals – was constituted by those having earned a personal entry in authoritative national encyclopaedias, biographical dictionaries and bibliographies as well as some other printed serial funds on 'people of fame'. The range of the sources exploited exhaustively in the survey for names cited begin with the great national encyclopaedia *Pallas lexikon*, published in 16 volumes in the late 19th century and end with the *Magyar nagylexikon*, the last of its 19 volumes having appeared in 2006. In this survey we were looking for some basic personal data defining the place of each individual included in social space (family background, cultural ties, education, professional track, publications or other forms of creativity), but the whole set of textual references to them, as provided in our various sources, was also recorded electronically in preparation for secondary analyses.

The second survey targeted initially – in principle exhaustively – all those born in Hungary who have achieved graduation with an academic or professional degree of higher (post secondary) education from 1867 to 1948 in or outside the country. In the course of our work of prosopographical data gathering the targets were systematically extended, whenever the sources permitted, over the whole student population, especially those enrolled in the first semester or year of higher studies. this presentation. The individual prosopographical files here are restricted to basic data concerning social extraction and the study track, since the mostly archival sources available and resorted to would not contain more than these. I will focus herewith on this historical survey related to the pre-socialist period only, though it is obvious that the professional careers of our last generations surveyed (those for example who started or completed their studies in the postwar transition years 1945-1948) are located in the decades of the socialist regime, some of them having remained active even beyond 1989.

Let me start with stating that our survey is meant to be a breakthrough in the historical study of educated elites both in Hungary and most probably elsewhere, since this is the first time that the whole population of a contemporary nation state having benefitted from higher education over the long period of post-feudal modernization has been targeted for a study based on the strict individual identification of all those concerned with the establishment of a standardized biographical documentation for each student or graduate identified in the sources.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I have knowledge of similar attempts, limited though as they are to the student population of one central or 'national' university, in very small countries like Norway and Estonia. See for example V. Aubert, "The Professions in Norwegian Social Structure", *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology*, International Sociological Association, 1964, 243-258. Hungary was in the Dual Monarchy a middle sized European country (18,3 millions inhabitants in 1910, outside Croatia) and even the post Trianon rump state had a population of close to 8 millions.

## Historical stages and sociological scope

Before presenting our survey, one must remind the reader of some structural features of Hungarian society as well as sum up the main stages of its transformations since the official dismantlement of feudalism, starting with the 1848/49 Revolution and War of Independence, to which the main transformations of the institutional framework of elite selection, elite training and the ‘circulation’ of elites within the historically given social hierarchies were linked.

A preliminary remark should be dedicated here as to the geographical scope of our study. Hungary was, before 1919, a large multi-ethnic kingdom, the frontiers of which had been largely fixed in feudal times since the early 11th century. The Hungarian state occupied the whole territory of the so called Carpathian basin, that is, together with the central regions now making up contemporary Hungary, large peripheral territories including today’s Slovakia, Romanian Transylvania, Ukrainian Subcarpathia, Serbian Voivodina, Northern Croatia and Austrian Burgenland. Since the First World War and the ensuing Trianon Peace Treaty Hungary has been reduced to its central territories of Transdanubia (West), Trans-Tisza regions of the Central Plain (East) and the territories in between. In our study we have dealt with educated elites emanating from within the given frontiers of the Hungarian state, which – to be sure – received a significant proportion of university graduates from beyond the borders of what came to be called the Rump State after 1919. In practice our registration of students and graduates covers all those – whatever their citizenship – having studied in Hungary during the period 1867-1948, together with those born in Hungary (within the given frontiers) who went abroad for post-secondary studies in the period 1867-1918: our sources are indeed quite fragmentary for Hungarian students abroad after 1918, but almost exhaustive for earlier periods due to extensive research done or organized by our colleague László Szögi.<sup>3</sup> References are thus not exclusive of foreigners studying in Hungary in the period 1867-1918.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See László Szögi, *Ungarländische Studenten an den Deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1789-1919*, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2001; Gábor Patyi, *Magyarországi diákok bécsi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1890-1919* /Hungarian students in Viennese universities and institutions of higher education/, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2004; Andor Mészáros, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai egyetemeken, 1850-1918*, /Students from Hungary in the universities of Prague/, Budapest, 2001, Budapest, 2001; László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci és hollandiai egyetemeken, 1789-1919*, /Students from Hungary in Swiss and Dutch universities, 1789-1919/, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> See Zsuzsa Heilauf (Hrg.), *Ausländische Studenten an ungarischen Hochschulen und Universitäten. I. 1635-1919*. Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2006. Some 973 foreigners studied in Hungary during 1867-1919. (Ibid. 58.)

The geographical scope of our research is limited to Hungary outside Croatia. Indeed since Croatia achieved a full administrative autonomy in 1868 within the then 'Hungarian Empire' (just like Hungary within the Habsburg Empire in 1867), while it maintained symbolic connections with Hungary as 'a land under the Hungarian Crown', our treatment of pre-1919 elites should not include those born in Croatia proper. This is in harmony with references to Croatia in pre-1918 historical publications, like in the *Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks*.<sup>5</sup>

Our survey is broken down into three long periods, differing by the territory concerned (pre-Trianon "Big Hungary" from 1867 till 1919, the post-Trianon Rump State afterwards<sup>6</sup>), by the ethnic and social set-up of the pool of selection of elites, by the institutional scope and structure of the educational provision instrumental in the training of members of the elite, as well as – very importantly – the sources we could rely upon.

The first period to be dealt with was covered by the process of liberal-nationalist nation-building in the historic kingdom, which was indeed a uniquely multi-ethnic empire. The 1848 Revolution, though it failed to bring about the complete independence of Hungary, succeeded in laying the foundations of a modern constitutional kingdom with the abolition of feudal privileges of the ruling nobility (except its voting rights), an elected Parliament (based though on the suffrage of adult males only, belonging to the propertied and the educated classes), the legal equality of citizens, land reform liberating peasant serfs from feudal bonds, the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers and the beginning of the secularisation of the state. Though the Revolution and the War of Independence was followed by a period of absolutist repression, the Hungarian nationalist leadership could eventually negotiate with the imperial government the famous 1867 Compromise (*Ausgleich*) which guaranteed the internal autonomy of the Hungarian state, while maintaining the links with Austria via the 'common affairs' (diplomacy, defense and the finances connected to the latter two).

In this 'Dualist' Hungary (1867-1918) the nation building process was carried out to its utmost consequences by an old noble elite which was quickly supplemented and in some functions even substituted by upcoming new elite groups. These social movements generated a number of conflict zones related

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<sup>5</sup> Censuses in Hungary and Croatia were coordinated and organised in the same time and following the same technicalities, but results were published separately, though in the same reports and yearbooks covering all the regions 'under the Hungarian crown'.

<sup>6</sup> In this respect we have obviously taken into account the transitory extension of the territories between 1938 and 1944, thanks to the 'Vienna Decisions' with German and Italian sponsorship of november 2, 1938 (annexation of Southern Slovakia and part of Subcarpathia) and of 30 August 1940 (annexation of Northern Transylvania), as well as the not less transitory occupation of Yugoslav Voivodina (Bácska) in April 1941 due to the Hungarian military invasion..

to the redistribution of property and economic power, the position of ethnic minorities and that of religious status groups in the ruling class.

Dualist Hungary inherited typically post-feudal social and economic structures, many aspects of which demonstrate the long term survival of the Ancient Regime. First of all it was characterized by the large scale maintenance of the feudal system of land ownership : 1 % of all landowners controlled 48 % of landed estates over 100 acres in the outgoing 19th century. The historic aristocracy did not only succeed in keeping its large latifundia (all the more because much of its properties continued to be protected by feudal right of 'non alienability' – *mainmorte*), but remained largely over-represented in the political power elite. Between 1875 and 1918 some 28 % of key government positions were occupied by titled aristocrats. The situation of the lower gentry was somewhat different. Though it was losing rapidly its landed estates, it could preserve its social networks and historic authority, witnessed – among other things – by the fact that 48 % of government posts fell to them throughout the Dualist period.<sup>7</sup> Thus over 76 % of members of government belonged to the nobility at that time while members of the erstwhile feudal ruling class filled the ranks of the ministerial high bureaucracy up to 59 % of the total, and in 1910 up to 49 % of all ministerial employees.<sup>8</sup> A strong contrast to this, the old feudal class was quasi-absent from the creative economic leadership of the burgeoning capitalism taking off during the *Gründerzeit* of the 1860s and 1870s. Though titled aristocrats could be called to sit on directorial boards of big factories to lend them social prestige, but the modern entrepreneurial class in charge of economic and infrastructural modernization (the building up of big industry, the railway network, the local system of transportation, agencies of international trade, etc.) was composed overwhelmingly by 'newcomers' in the elites: mostly Jews but also, in some limited measure, Germans, Slavs and other upwardly mobile commoners.<sup>9</sup>

Such changes in social stratification brought about more complex transformations of social power relations, because the nation-building 'titular elite' (the nobility of largely Magyar ethnic stock) – uniquely enough among modern European nation states – represented only an ethnic minority in the population, composed, initially, by a majority of non Magyars. There was no more than 40-42 % of ethnic Magyars (Magyar speakers) at the mid-19. century, just 50 % in 1900, following a long period of 'assimilation' of the non Magyars. The call of 'Magyarism' (for the support of the building of a Hungarian nation state with Magyar hegemony) was extended to all ethnic minorities in the framework of

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary, 1825-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, 111.

<sup>8</sup> Janos, 110.

<sup>9</sup> Bryan Cartledge, *The Will to Survive. A History of Hungary*, London, Timewell Press, 2006, 270-273.

an unwritten 'assimilationist social contract' of sorts. This was accepted mostly by Jews, many Germans and Slovaks, but basically refused by others (like most Romanians, Serbians, Ukrainians, Transylvanian Saxons and 'awakening' Slovaks). Hence the agenda of the nation building process included a heavy stress on the 'Magyarization of minorities', a vast conflict area with some minorities in terms of schooling (resistance to Magyar language tuition), symbolic geography (refusal of the nominal Magyarization of space), social integration in ruling elites (access to civil service positions), economic competition, etc.

Additionally, besides ethnic loyalties, the conflict areas in the elites comprised that of religious persuasion. Hungary was indeed – there again quite uniquely among national societies emerging after the Counter-Reformation in Europe – a multi-denominational set-up without any religious majority. The ethnic mosaic was doubled by a religious one. In 1910 Roman Catholics (Magyars, Germans, Slovaks) represented 49 % of the global population, Greek Catholics (Uniates, mostly Romanians and Ukrainians) 11 %, Greek Orthodox (Romanians and Serbians) 13 %, Calvinists (almost exclusively Magyars) 14,4 %, Lutherans (mostly Germans and Slovaks, with a Magyar minority) 7,5 %, Unitarians (Transylvanian Magyars) 0,4 % and Jews 5 %. There was a quasi institutionalized historic competition (amounting sometimes to open conflicts) between the Churches, especially between Roman Catholics and Protestants, between Western (Magyar, German, Slav) Christians and Eastern Christians (Romanians, Serbians), between Christians and Jews (marked among other things by antisemitism in the lower clergy).

These aspects of the social set-up of Dualist Hungary were seriously modified after the dismemberment of the historic state, following the defeat in the First World War, the ensuing two revolutions and the post-revolutionary backlash. The transformation was marked by the Trianon Treaty, making Hungary a small and ethnically almost homogeneous rump state in the central regions of the historic territories (with over 90 % Magyars). This entailed the end of the Liberal state, replaced by a semi authoritarian, rightist-conservative and anti-semitic regime (anti-Jewish *numerus clausus* law in universities since 1920, a first in a European country having granted full legal emancipation to Jews). The post-feudal political elite and property relationships were largely maintained even after 1919, but the denominational structure of the population changed significantly with a Roman Catholic majority (64 %) besides Protestant (21 % Calvinists and 6 % Lutherans) and Jewish (6 %) minorities, but the near disappearance of all other religious clusters. In spite of significant territorial gains in 1938-1944, due to the recovery of some regions lost in 1919, this social set-up was basically maintained till 1945, marked by the country's disastrous defeat as Germany's ally in the Second World War, and the end of the Old Regime. In many respects the ensuing political, economic and social changes – especially those affecting the system of elite education – were drawn

out and remained incomplete till 1948, the ‘Year of the Turn’ and the Communist take-over of power in its Stalinist frame.

### Preliminary aspects of our research project on the elites

All the above historical developments together with the changing social cleavages they had brought about are closely reflected in the formation of educated elites, especially as far as the following aspects are concerned : inequalities of access to higher education (starting with the access to secondary education, essential part of the elite training process at that time), the choice of the level of studies (2-3 years vocational colleges, 4 years Legal Academies or University Faculties), the choice of the branche of study (Law, Medicine, Arts and Sciences), the successes, performances, qualifications obtained or achieved during higher studies, the career patterns following graduation (a major option being between civil service or free professions), intellectual activities and creativity in the careers concerned (publications, organisational or leadership roles, certified status as member of learned societies, distinctions and prizes obtained, etc.). Hence the main analytical thrust of our survey would concern the objectification of these social inequalities observable in the process of elite formation. Let me shortly report herewith on the conception of our global survey, together with some of its technicalities and preliminary results. The latter will be presented as illustrations only and concern inequalities of confessional nature only, for reasons connected to the highly sensitive issue of religious fragmentation in the social history of this belatedly and – before socialism – poorly secularized society.

In practice our team got engaged simultaneously in three parallel procedures, two of which served to support the main survey via the exploitation of secondary data available or liable of elaboration on elites.

First we collected and processed a number of aggregate (mostly statistical) pieces of local, regional or country-wide information on intellectuals and elites for 1867-1948. This consisted in a vast inventory of historical publications on institutional arrangements of advanced schooling, those receiving higher education and – more generally – on elite clusters as distinguished in census reports. We also started the publication of special relevant data banks emanating from unpublished archival sources. We have succeeded, in particular, to gather and start to publish a huge statistical collection on the distribution of certified schooling credentials in the population 1910 broken down by not less than five factors:

- gender (separate tables for men and women)
- region (counties and big cities separately in each region)
- age groups (in five years clusters)
- denominations (all those listed above)



- levels of schooling (4-6-8 secondary classes, writing knowledge, illiterates)
- to which we could add in each table the ethnic set-up (by mother tongue) of religious and gender clusters.<sup>10</sup>

Table 1 shows a topical page – fairly simplified as compared to the publication project – extracted for Transylvania from our as yet unpublished data from the 1910 census.

This extraction from a much more complex table offers a synthetic view of the scope of confessional inequalities of education in the easternmost region of Dualist Hungary. The contrast is indeed a sharp one between Jews, by far the best educated of all clusters – with a third of young adults having achieved a measure of secondary schooling –, Western Christians (Lutherans, Roman Catholics and Calvinists) with one tenth or somewhat more young males with secondary education, and eastern Christians of Greek ritual lagging behind with quite insignificant proportions of educated men. One may remark that these data show a clear relative advantage of mostly Magyar Roman Catholics as against mostly Saxon Lutherans with elite educational credentials, while Lutherans proved to be far better off as compared to Roman Catholics in terms of basic literacy. This is not the place to pursue further the socio-historical interpretation of these disparities which should refer (among other things) to the differential cultural heritage of confessional clusters, their dispositional differences as to learning habits and intellectual pursuits, the values they invest in education respectively, their vastly diverging professional stratification and property distribution, the size and the quality of school networks run by the Churches, etc.

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<sup>10</sup> See Victor Karady and Peter Tibor Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, Database for Transdanubia, 1910*, Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Educational Research, 2003, 2 volumes. (Research Papers no. 253.) Ibid., *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Western Slovakia, 1910*. Budapest, Wesleyan Theological Academy, 2004 (199 pages). Ibid., *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Eastern Slovakia and North-Eastern Hungary, 1910*. Budapest, John Wesley Publisher, 2006. (179 p.)

Table 1: Levels of education of Transylvanian men by selected age groups and confessions (1910)<sup>11</sup>; (percent).

	<i>Roman Catholics</i>		<i>Lutherans</i>		<i>Calvinists</i>		<i>Greek Orthodox</i>		<i>Greek Catholics</i>		<i>Jews</i>	
	all	25-29 years	all	25-29 years	all	25-29 years	all	25-29 years	all	25-29 years	all	25-29 years
<i>8 secondary classes</i>	3,9	8,6	3,5	8,0	2,7	5,5	0,7	2,3	0,8	1,7	6,2	17
<i>4-6 secondary classes</i>	4,4	6,0	4,4	6,0	3,0	3,5	0,7	1,0	0,7	1,0	9,7	14,3
<i>literate</i>	55,8	70,9	69,8	82,8	57,0	76,6	35,5	51,9	28,7	38,9	56,1	62,1
<i>illiterate</i>	36,1	7,8	22,6	3,6	37,0	14,4	63,2	44,8	69,9	58,7	28,1	6,6
<i>All (%)</i>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
<i>N =</i>	191135	14983	112566	7902	201663	16825	395461	28696	362610	31118	31731	2594

<sup>11</sup> Extracted from Peter-Tibor Nagy, Victor Karady, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations. Database for Transylvania, 1910*, with an introductory study by Victor Karady. Budapest, John Wesley Publisher, 2008 (forthcoming).

A second preliminary survey undertaken by our team drew upon secondary education (*Maturanten, Abiturienten*) in 1850-1918, representing the recruitment basis or the pool of selection in post-feudal Hungary of those capable to do higher (post-secondary) studies and become certified intellectuals. The main thrust of this survey was a prosopographical study of secondary graduates with marks (grades) obtained in various school subjects in the 8th class (preceding graduation proper) together with other important personal indications often available (notably religion). The sources were either the inscription files in school archives or – more often – the lists of pupils as published in the yearly reports of each gymnasium or *Realschule* concerned. We have thus collected basic data on graduates of some 35-40 % of the secondary schools in a global population of graduates estimated at 120.000 – 150 000 pupils altogether for the period of the Dual Monarchy. Herewith let us refer to data revealing basic confessional inequalities for the whole country via qualitative indicators of school success.

Table 2: Average marks obtained by secondary school graduates in selected subjects taught in the 8th classes of gymnasiums and *Realschulen* in Dualist Hungary\*\*

Subject: <i>HUNGARIAN</i>				
	1867-1880	1881-1900	1901-1918	together
Unknown				2,16
Lutherans	2,34	2,08	2,15	2,14
Greco-Catholics	2,39	2,35	2,32	2,34
Greco-Orthodox	*	2,40	2,42	2,39
Jews	2,26	2,01	2,00	2,02
Calvinists	2,33	2,15	2,16	2,16
Roman Catholics	2,33	2,07	2,09	2,17
Unitarians	*	*	2,09	2,17
All	2,32	2,10	2,11	2,16
N =				34 695

Subject: <i>MATHS</i>				
	1867-1880	1881-1900	1901-1918	together
Unknown				2,35
Lutherans	2,48	2,31	2,35	2,34
Greco-Catholics	2,47	2,47	2,52	2,50
Greco-Orthodox	2,43	2,35	2,52	2,48
Jews	2,36	2,22	2,24	2,24
Calvinists	2,87	2,39	2,37	2,38
Roman Catholics	2,70	2,41	2,35	2,41
Unitarians	*	*	2,18	2,30
All				2,36
N =				34 676

Subject: <i>LATIN</i>				
	1867-1880	1881-1900	1901-1918	together
Unknown				2,34
Lutherans	2,91	2,43	2,38	2,41
Greco-Catholics	2,54	2,76	2,57	2,64
Greco-Orthodox	2,40	2,62	2,59	2,59
Jews	2,29	2,25	2,20	2,22
Calvinists	2,95	2,41	2,37	2,39
Roman Catholics	2,70	2,41	2,33	2,39
Unitarians	*	*	2,33	2,33
All	2,66	2,40	2,32	2,34
N =				30 043

\*\* 1 = best mark ('excellent'), 4 = failure ('insufficient')

- insignificant for scarcity of data

In this piece of evidence of student performances in the outgoing classes of secondary education one can observe a pattern of confessional inequalities – systematically in favor of Jews – quite similar to those shown by the merely quantitative disparities in table 1. The interpretation here would also draw upon those socio-historical circumstances mentioned above, besides the rather obvious need of Jewish youth to search symbolic compensation for its still persisting public stigmatization in spectacular over-performance in the relatively free market of educational competition.

### The prosopography of students and graduates

Our overall prosopographical survey (1867-1948) on students and graduates was by far the most demanding and largest part of our research, an attempt to make an exhaustive prosopographical inventory of graduates of higher learning, recorded together with an as large as possible sample of those enrolled but without having completed their studies in institutions of higher education. In the years 1850-1918 even students attending foreign universities and academic agencies have been entered into our registers. The full size of the data bank now available exceeds information on 200.000 students and graduates.

For an indication of the scope of the survey, here is in a shortcut the list of institutions concerned, covering the whole field of higher education for most of the period under study. Since all similar agencies had been nationalised and state funded in Hungary since the late 18th century (by the first *Ratio Educationis* Law in 1777, after the dissolution of the Jesuit Congregation), and tuition language became exclusively Hungarian since 1843 (when Magyar replaced Latin by law as the official state language), with some exceptions in time (between 1849 and the early 1860s) and among institutions (theologies being allowed to use occasionally Latin or ethnic idioms as well), most agencies listed (except otherwise indicated) were run by the Ministry of Public Instruc-

tion and Cults. The present list draws upon the situation of the higher educational market around 1900. Some of the institutions concerned, located in territories lost for Hungary, would disappear after 1919. If not otherwise indicated, all the institutions below were operating in the capital city.

- 2 classical universities (Budapest and Kolozsvár (since 1872), both with Law, Arts and Sciences, additionally with Catholic Theology in Budapest – all with 4 years (8 semesters) of study, and Medicine, (with a 5 years curriculum)
  - after 1912 two more universities were founded in Pozsony and Debrecen.
  - After 1918 Pozsony will be transferred to Pécs and the University of Kolozsvár to Szeged
- 1 Polytechnical University in Budapest (4 years of study)
- 10-12 Law Academies (changing in time) in the provinces (with 3 years of study till 1874 and four years afterwards, but no right to grant doctorates). Most of these (7 in 1910) were managed by the Churches.
- vocational colleges (with 3 years of study)
  - 5 in agronomy (all in the provinces)
  - 3 in commerce (two in the provinces)
  - a special Oriental Commercial Academy
  - a Commercial Academy for Foreign Exchange (in Fiume/Rijeka)
  - Ludovika Academy (for the training of officers in the national *Honvéd* Army + training schools in Austria for the ‘Common Army’ of the Dual Monarchy)
  - A Navy Officers’ Training Academy (in Fiume/Rijeka)
  - An Academy of engineering of mines and forestry (*Bergschule*) in Selmecbánya (transferred to Sopron after 1918)
  - A school of veterinary science
  - A number of schools of creative (Academy of Fine Arts and Academy of Industrial Arts) and performing arts (School of Theatre, Music conservatory).
  - Other vocational schools were founded in the interwar years around 1928 for the training of specialised teachers (gymnastics, therapeutical pedagogy, higher primary schools – the last one in Szeged)
- A large number of theological seminars and colleges located mostly in the provinces and run by the Churches to train priests, clerics and ministers
  - a State Rabbinical Institute in Budapest for the training of conservative ‘reform’ rabbis (1877)
  - The Pozsony Yeshiva for the training of Orthodox rabbi
  - special teacher training seminars for the dual (theological and pedagogical) education of members of Catholic teaching congregations (Piarists, Benedictines, Cistercians, Jesuits, Prémontrés) organized and run by respective congregations.

The aim of the prosopographical surveys was to be as complete (exhaustive) as permitted by the accessibility of mostly archival sources. The latter consisted in yearly or semestrial inscription files (*matricula*), diplomas, exam protocols and the like. Destruction, loss or inaccessibility of sources must have been counted upon and occurred for several institutions and periods. Within this limit exhaustivity was realized for all university faculties for graduates and even for most students enrolled after 1918 (no such data though for earlier years for the University of Budapest !). The only exception of this rule concerned the Faculty of Law in Budapest in the inter-war years, due to the excessive size of the student body : here we resorted to large samples only. Those sources which appear to be the most complete are destined to publication – whenever allowed by the law on the protection of personal archival data.<sup>12</sup>

For non university academies and vocational colleges we took large samples of at least 1/3 of the student body, usually identifying students every second year. Still the alumni of some of these institutions too have been exhaustively researched.

We could not accomplish a full research on theological seminars and colleges. Very large samples could be gathered though for most Protestant and Greek Catholic and Orthodox theologies, except for the Roman Catholic ones, where the permission to survey student files in episcopal archives was rarely granted.

As a mere example of the effect of ‘independent’ variables on study choices, let us present tables 3 and 4 demonstrating the influence of a combined variable made of ethnic background (defined by the ethnic nature of surnames) and confession in the two classical universities of the Dualist period. No published information of that combination has been hitherto made available, while there are separately published data on study choices by religion and by ethnicity alone. This is especially true of such regional data, like those for Transylvania. Our survey contains similar indicators liable to be broken down for each other regions as well, or even for individual counties, cities or other territorial units defined not only by the place of birth of students, but also by the place of their secondary education and the residence of their family (father’s address).

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<sup>12</sup> One such publication has already appeared on the pre-1918 student body of the University of Kolozsvár. Others should follow. See Victor Karady, Lucian Nastasa, *The University of Kolozsvár/Cluj and the Students of the Medical Faculty (1872-1918)*, Cluj, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2004. (392 pages)

Table 3: Choices of Study Tracks by Transylvanian Born Graduates by Religion in the University of Budapest (1870-1918)

Confession/ethnic nature of surnames	Law	Political Science	Medicine	All	numbers
R. Catholic/Magyar	58,3	22,5	19,1	100,0	333
R. Catholic/German	57,7	13,5	28,8	100,0	104
R. Catholic/other	60,8	15,0	24,2	100,0	120
Calvinist	56,7	15,5	27,8	100,0	381
Lutheran/Magyar	34,3	22,8	42,8	100,0	35
Lutheran/German	32,7	3,6	63,6	100,0	110
Lutheran/other	50,0	3,8	46,2	100,0	26
Jewish/Magyar	67,7	3,1	29,2	100,0	65
Jewish/other	55,7	-	44,3	100,0	115
Unitarian	58,0	18,0	24,0	100,0	50
Greek Catholic	66,2	1,3	32,5	100,0	151
Greek Orthodox	26,2	-	73,8	100,0	80
All (including those with unknown confession)	54,5	12,2	33,2	100,0	1592

For Budapest University data on the Philosophical Faculty are lacking because the sources contained no evidence about religion, except for very small samples. Catholic Theology was disregarded for the obvious confessional bias of its recruitment. Even so, the disparities demonstrated here show remarkable patterns with contrasts between Jews and non Jews, Lutherans and other Christians, with a very special position of the rare students of Greek ritual persuasion. Fine differences include the under-representation in political science of all kinds of ethnic outsiders (Jews, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and – more generally – those of non Magyar background) with regard to the official Magyarism of Dualist Hungary's 'titular elite'. Such data are important precisely because they lend themselves to inter-regional comparisons, including the ever prevailing opposition of students born or resident in Budapest and big cities and those belonging to rural and provincial social brackets.

Here again we have a demonstration of profound disparities of student destinies following two basic 'independent' variables, once post secondary studies have been started. The contrast is particularly manifest between Jews (investing heavily in Medicine and Law) and others, but there is a striking opposition, as above, between Lutherans and other Christians as well as between eastern and western Christians. The last line of the table is worth to be specially noted even in a summary presentation, because it offers evidence about the very differential recourse to the 'provincial' alma mater following study choices. In Law the Kolozsvár Faculty has become gradually (especially after 1900) a refuge of masses of students, among them many of the less ambitious, since control criteria were reputedly milder in the provincial 'factory of legal degrees'.

Table 4: Choices of Study Tracks by Transylvanian Born Students by Religion in the University of Kolozsvár (1872-1918)

Confession/ ethnic nature of surnames	Law	Medicine	Mathem. Natural Sciences	Philosophy, Humanities	All	Numbers
R. Catholic/Magyar	69,7	11,7	6,2	12,4	100,0	1745
R. Catholic/German	60,7	19,1	7,4	12,8	100,0	539
R. Catholic/other	67,1	14,7	6,0	12,3	100,0	620
Calvinist	52,3	14,3	6,2	27,2	100,0	2728
Lutheran/Magyar	40,0	25,3	7,3	27,4	100,0	95
Lutheran/German	45,3	22,7	9,0	23,0	100,0	722
Lutheran/other	51,7	16,8	10,8	21,1	100,0	185
Jewish/Magyar	53,4	39,1	2,2	5,1	100,0	174
Jewish/other	55,5	39,7	2,0	2,8	100,0	559
Unitarian	53,4	11,0	7,4	27,7	100,0	693
Greek Catholic	62,2	25,1	3,5	9,1	100,0	943
Greek Orthodox	62,1	27,3	3,6	7,1	100,0	506
All (including those of unknown confession)	59,0	17,9	5,9	17,2	100,0	9847
% of those born in Transylvania in the student body	39,0 %	56,3%	50,7 %	59,6 %	44,7 %	

### Topical approaches and problem areas in the overall prosopographical survey

The first target of our survey was, obviously enough, the evaluation of general access chances to higher education (students), intellectual professions (graduates) and those achieving elite status in their respective fields of activity via entering into the group of individuals with certified ‘reputation’.

Such evaluation was approached first on a merely statistical and chronological basis. It was above all important to identify the stages of the development of the intake of higher education and the expansion of the intellectual professions region by region as compared with demographic factors (population size, gender, age structure). The best indicators in this respect were age specific enrollement and graduation frequencies.

In a much more demanding and sophisticated approach we tried to identify our students and graduates following a number of basic ‘background’ indicators related to their social extraction. In historical sociology these are the main social determinants of the position individuals occupy in social space, the so called ‘independent variables’ in career building and status achievement.



Father's, mother's or guardian's *professional (social class) standing* was in this respect fundamental. Data to this effect could occasionally be completed by specifications on educational titles (like doctorate), references to nobility or, more importantly, employer's standing (state firms, private enterprise, municipal government, etc.) and position or rank in the employment. (Unfortunately data on the family's social standing was lacking for most university students before 1919 because of the destruction of the relevant files in the bombardment of the National Archives in 1956.)

Reference to *ethnicity* or at least ethnic background was also essential in multi-ethnic Hungary. Here we had to content ourselves with approximations. The less bad of these was the coding of surnames and first (in Hungary second) names, covering the broad semantic area of the ethnic origin of the family, however 'assimilated', that is Magyarized it could be in reality. The reliability of this apparently 'objective' indice was, alas, becoming problematic since the outgoing 19th century (especially for Jews and many of German background), because of the multiplication of surname 'nationalizations' in socially upcoming middle class circles. The indication of mother tongue, an apparently 'objective' indication of ethnicity, yielded only a minimal information, since most students of non Magyar stock – bilingual or multilingual as they were – would declare Hungarian as their first language.

*Religion* was an even more fundamental variable in the multi-denominational state. It proved to be a major source of inequalities (due principally to trends of Jewish and – to some extent – Lutheran over-investment in schooling). It is a well documented variable, with evidence in most of the sources exploited in the survey. It is in the same time the less often studied, indeed regularly tabooed factor of educational differentials.

But in our investigation *regional ties* (origins or background) also appeared a significant determinant of educational and professional inequalities, especially via the contrast between urban and rural environments, but also that among geographic regions marked by unequal degrees, rythms and processes of development and modernization. We used at least three indices of regional ties: birthplace, father's residence and the town of secondary school graduation.

After these 'independent variables' we did our best to collect data on all accessible aspects of the students' and graduates' careers, considered as 'dependent variables'. Inter-relations among the latter appeared to be important as well. These included a number of more or less standardized information, as follows.

Outcome of *secondary education*, especially the place, the controlling authority (state, municipal congregations, other confessional or private agencies) and the qualification (marks obtained) at graduation. Since the Hungarian secondary educational market was almost as multi-denominational as the population, it was important to identify the educational background of students, another source of marked inequalities, particularly as far as study choices were concerned: around one fifth of graduates of congregational or Church gymnasi-

ums entered a school of theology (close to one half of alumni of Greek Catholic gymnasiums), while very or none from State run institutions.

Data on *study options and levels of achievement* in these were obviously essential. In Law one could choose among university faculties leading to the doctorate (indispensable for lawyers and judges) and law academies (leading to administrative civil service positions). But option between the Polytechnical University in Budapest or a vocational academy in the provinces could be also crucial for the definition of career chances.

Data on *graduation* had a number of functions. It helped to measure relative educational success by the comparison of marks obtained at final exams (when available) and also by the age of taking degrees. It defined the size of various clusters of would-be professional intellectuals in different historical periods. It contributed to grasp drop-out rates and evaluate the difficulties of respective curricular tracks. It also offered an approach of the difficult problem of achievement differentials via the age of graduation, those graduating earlier being supposed to be better academic achievers as well. For a casual demonstration of such disparities here is a preliminary example.

Inequalities of the kind as shown in Table 5 are interesting on account of their ambiguity which raises interrogations about the reasons why the pattern here is partly different from those observed in other contexts as in the tables above. The specially favorable position of Jewish students is quite apparent here too, just as the rather unfavorable showing of Eastern Christians. But between these two poles the range of indices is not clear with regard to the relatively weak performance of Lutherans as against other Western Christians. Such results demand further comparative exploration of the same indicator in other faculties, universities and regions (as far as student origins are concerned).

We could gather some data on the *funding* of studies (like tuition wavers, scholarships, admission to dormitories, etc.) as well as other *incidents occurring during the study track* (expulsion, abandonment, death, suspension of studies, departure abroad). These can be occasionally brought into statistical relationship with all other 'independent' or 'dependent' factors of student careers.

Table 5: Age of graduation from secondary schools among students of the Medical Faculty of the University of Kolozsvár (1872-1918)

	17 and under	18	1920	21 and over	Total	Number	%
<i>Roman Catholics</i>							
Hungarian	6.4	40.3	43.4	9.8	100.0	357	14.1
German	8.9	44.9	44.3	1.9	100.0	158	6.3
Other	10.1	44.9	38.4	6.5	100.0	138	5.5
<i>Calvinists</i>							
Hungarian	6.0	42.5	44.8	6.7	100.0	504	20.0
Other	4.3	47.8	44.9	2.9	100.0	69	2.7
<i>Lutherans</i>							
German	2.0	40.6	53.5	4.0	100.0	202	4.1
Other	4.1	45.4	45.4	5.2	100.0	79	3.8
<i>Greek Catholics</i>							
Romanian	5.1	26.1	54.5	14.2	100.0	176	7.0
Other	6.5	29.9	48.1	15.6	100.0	77	3.0
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>							
Romanian	4.4	21.3	54.4	19.9	100.0	136	5.4
Other	10.3*	24.1*	48.3*	17.2*	100.0	29	1.1
<i>Other Christians</i> (Unitarians)							
	3.7	46.7	42.7	7.3	100.0	82	3.2
<i>Jews</i>							
Hungarian	13.7	51.3	27.4	7.7	100.0	117	4.6
Other	12.0	47.8	32.4	7.8	100.0	383	15.2
% total	7.1	41.0	43.5	8.3	100.0		100.0
Number	180	1,036	1,099	210		2,525	

Finally, the survey was in some cases extended over the *post graduation period* via the mobilisation of various professional lists and academic prosopographies (sometimes published by ‘old boys’ circles of the faculties or academies concerned), offering information on the state of the career of many graduates. Such data are vastly extensible, since much of the potentially accessible sources are as yet untapped. They comprise membership (with positional indications) in professional chambers (lawyers’, doctors’, engineers’, etc.) or in social or political movements, civil servants (from Yearbooks of State Officials), teachers and professors in schools, academies and universities (in yearly reports of respective institutions, ‘schematisms’ of Church staff, etc.

We strongly hope that in future research indicators of *intellectual creativity* proper can also be brought into the picture. We have two remarkable and quasi-exhaustive sources for the publication of books and large articles in the country since early times till the 1950s (Szinyei’s and Gulyás’s bibliographies). They can be easily connected (by author’s name and profession) to our lists of intellectuals. This operation has already been carried out for members of the ‘reputational elites’ (as above). For artists objectified sources of creativity may be found in other repertories reflecting artistic activities and achievements. They can be completed in each case by data on official distinctions awarded (prizes, distinctive medals, titles, ranks, election or cooptation in scholarly or artistic associations and learned societies – like the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

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